UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

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Religion in the College

By A. EUSTACE HAYDON

Hindu-Moslem Unity in India

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

World Peace Day—August 27th

By S. O. LEVINSON

"More Babies" for Italy!

By DOROTHY WALTON

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By J. C. KUMARAPPA

VOLUME CVI NUMBER 2

Chicago, September 15, 1930

PUBLISHED BI-WEEKLY

UNITY

(Established 1878)

Subscription, $3.00 Per Annum

A JOURNAL *of the* RELIGION *of* DEMOCRACY

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Vol. 1 March 1, 1878 No. 1

THE Pamphlet Mission FOR FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP & CHARACTER IN RELIGION.

Publishing Committee:

ROBERT COLLYER, Chicago. WM. C. GANNETT, St. Paul.
JENKIN LL. JONES, Janesville. C. W. WENDTE, Cincinnati.
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PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY AT 85 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO.
Per Year, $1.50. Single Number, 10 Cents.

FRANCIS L. ROBBINS, 65 Washington St., Chicago, - Business Agent.
J. T. SUNDERLAND, 65 Washington St., Chicago, } Editors of
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UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

"Entered as Second-Class Matter, October 12, 1929, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879"

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Contents

EDITORIAL— Page
Notes 19
Religion in the College—A. EUSTACE HAYDON .. 21
Hindu-Moslem Unity in India—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES 23

ARTICLES—
Parables of War and Peace—XVIII. An Official Report of the Next War—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES 23
World Peace Day—August 27th—S. O. LEVINSON 24
"More Babies" for Italy—DOROTHY WALTON .. 26
Gandhiji's Role in the Awakening of India—J. C. KUMARAPPA 28

POETRY—
Revolutions—*Matthew Arnold* 19

THE STUDY TABLE—
Labor on Religion—W. W. W. ARGOW 29

CORRESPONDENCE—
The All-India Issue:
I. EDWIN D. MEAD 30
II. SYDNEY STRONG 30
III. J. T. SUNDERLAND 30
IV. CARO LLOYD STROBELL 30
Political Prisoners in India—*One Satyagrahi Political Prisoner* 30

THE FIELD—
Working Committee's Resolutions 31
The Things that Count—*The Nation* 32
India—*The Crisis* 32

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CVI MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1930 NUMBER 2

REVOLUTIONS

Before man parted for this earthly strand,
While yet upon the verge of heaven he stood,
God put a heap of letters in his hand,
And bade him make with them what word he could.

And man has turn'd them many times; made Greece,
Rome, England, France;—yes, nor in vain essay'd
Way after way, changes that never cease!
The letters have combined, something was made.

But ah; an inextinguishable sense
Haunts him that he has not made what he should;
That he has still, though old, to recommence,
Since he has not yet found the word God would.

And empire after empire, at their height
Of sway, have felt this boding sense come on;
Have felt their huge frames not constructed right,
And droop'd, and slowly died upon their throne.

One day, thou say'st, there will at last appear
The word, the order, which God meant should be.
—Ah! we shall know *that* well when it comes near;
The band will quit man's heart, he will breathe free.

—*Matthew Arnold*

The storm centers of the world are becoming too numerous for attention. Revolutions have become an epidemic. If there were such a thing as a social seismograph, this machine would now be repeating the performance of Stephen Leacock's famous horseman who mounted his gallant steed and "rode off madly in every direction." India is, of course the most important center of disturbance, as China is the most chronic. To these are to be added Palestine, Syria and the Arabic world generally as centers of upheavals significant of the uprising of the East against the West. In Europe there are troubles nearly everywhere. Spain is seething with revolt which may break out at any moment. Hungary is planning the overthrow of Horthy and the restoration of Prince Otto. Poland has again sought refuge in the arms of the dictator, Pilsudski, as the easiest, if most expensive, road to peace. The Balkan countries are, as usual, a pack of surly dogs ready at any signal to leap into a fight. But at the moment Germany fixes the attention of anxious beholders, for the elections this month are momentous for the future. The new Republic is weak, and may easily fall into the clutch of a military or a proletarian dictatorship. The triumph of either the black Fascists or the red Communists would, in the present state of affairs, seal the fate of Europe. Meanwhile, South America is blowing up like a series of manhole explosions in a crowded avenue. Bolivia and Peru have gotten rid of their presidents, Argentina is plotting and planning the overthrow of hers, and Brazil is besieging her chosen executive in the official palace. Cuba also is stirring with strife and the menace of rebellion. What the reason for these sudden upheavals to the South is we do not profess to know. But we find ourselves wondering if it is not a part of the universal economic depression which now enshrouds the world like a mysterious cloud of darkness. Everywhere the workers are idle. Millions of men and women are looking for jobs, and meanwhile watching their families starve. With imperialism breaking down and capitalism refusing to do its work, are we in for one more enormous period of collapse, like that which engulfed the world when the Roman Empire no longer functioned? We are an optimist and still cling to hope, but there are times when we feel desperately like the man clinging to a raft in mid-ocean, with neither land nor ship in sight.

The outcome of the peace negotiations in India—the endeavor to get terms of settlement from Gandhi satisfactory to Britain—is unknown as we write. Gandhi has submitted his terms and it is not difficult to guess what they are. The only question remaining is Britain's willingness to accept terms which have been Gandhi's from the beginning, or to go on with the present futile and cruel campaign of force and violence against a non-resisting people. Meanwhile,

it is well to note the significance of these negotiations —the evidence they bear of the triumph of Gandhi's cause. For it is Britain that is suing for peace, and India that is laying down the terms. We search history in a vain endeavor to find any precedent for the situation of the last month—a great nation wielding irresistible and unbroken military power, turning to its enemies safely held in prison and pleading with them to end the war. Imagine such a situation at the close of the Great War! Try to visualize the German envoys at Versailles visited by the British and French, and besought with prayers and inducements of all kinds to present satisfactory terms of peace! As we recall it, the British and French wrote their own terms, and ordered a helpless Germany to sign on the dotted line. But India, for all Britain's power, is not helpless. Or, rather, the more helpless she is, the more victorious she becomes. Deliberately she has chosen suffering as the weapon of her cause. The more she suffers, therefore—the more leaders imprisoned, the more newspapers suppressed, the more men and women beaten and brutalized and butchered—the stronger she becomes. This is the miracle of Gandhi's method. Behold the Mahatma today, the feeblest of men, held helplessly in solitary confinement in jail—and the greatest empire in the world sitting anxiously at his cell-door, awaiting his terms of peace! What a spectacle! The meek, indeed, shall inherit the earth.

Just one year after the memorable riots and massacres in Palestine, the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations has made a report which levels some straight truths at the governing British authority in that unhappy country. Not all the tartness of the British reply can weaken or divert the indictment presented to the world in this Genevan document, which shows that there is more in the mandate idea than many of us had imagined. The basic responsibility of Britain for what actually occurred a year ago in Palestine is made perfectly plain, though the nature and causes of this responsibility are inadequately dealt with. Proper emphasis is laid upon the fact that the uprising of the Arabs was not fundamentally an attack upon the Jews at all, but "a movement of resistance to the policy of the Mandatory Power." Most important is the statement of the Mandates Commission that restriction of Jewish immigration into Palestine is justified only if it is accompanied by "a more active policy which would develop the country's capacity to receive and absorb immigrants in larger numbers." This leads naturally to the basic charge against Britain, so far as the Jews are concerned—that "it (the Mandatory) has not fulfilled by actual deeds its obligation to encourage the establishment of a Jewish National Home." On the other hand, in a period of ten years' time, it has done nothing to safeguard the interests of the Arab population by adapting them "to the new conditions due to Jewish immigration (which) would have served . . . both populations"; and has done less than nothing to help in "the establishment of self-governing institutions." The British Government in Palestine, that is, has simply refused to carry out "the two terms of the Mandate obligations, namely, the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the development of self-governing institutions." "The Mandatory Power's immediate obligation," concludes the Report, "is solely to create and maintain in Palestine general conditions favorable to the gradual accomplishment of both (these) objects." This Britain has failed to do to date because she has been concerned not with Arabs, least of all with Jews, but primarily with the interests of empire.

The marvelous Republican tariff, *chef d'oeuvre* of the Grand Old Party, is already beginning to display what it can do for the country. The first fifty days of the current fiscal year, which began on June 30th last, shows a decrease in revenue of $64,261,211, of which some $40,000,000 is attributed to the falling off of customs receipts. President Hoover has been careful to explain that foreign goods were rushed into the country in the last days of the old tariff in anticipation of the higher rates of the new tariff, and that when these goods are consumed, imports will recover. But *will* they? What evidence is there that foreign manufacturers can break barriers which our stupid politicians and stupider business men have reared against them? Meanwhile, resentment against the tariff is a steadily mounting flood abroad, and is already taking definite shape in acts of retaliation. Thus, Italy has imposed a tax of $1,000 per car on automobiles of the Ford and Chevrolet type. In Switzerland, which is particularly hard hit by the Smoot abomination, there was recently held a public meeting attended by 15,000 men and women, who solemnly pledged themselves not to buy in the future a penny's worth of American goods. In France and in England there is wrath deep-seated, which finds no political expression because of the desire of the governments not to have trouble with this country, but is certain to find just such popular expression as is breaking out in Switzerland. And all the while, under the operations of this tariff, business lies prostrate, unemployment increases, and misery spreads. Just think—it is in these days of the highest protective tariff ever known, the sure magic for prosperity, that six thousand desperate men and women broke down the doors of a newly-opened municipal employment

agency in New York, and forced the interference of the police to save life and limb! The ways of our tariff-mongers are passed finding out. The citizens of foreign countries are our customers—yet we slam our doors in their faces, and then wonder why we do no business.

The reopening of the schools and churches this month raises again the question—of what avail? We spend millions upon millions of dollars upon the public education of our boys and girls, and still see them perfectly contented to read the tabloids, dance to jazz, and revel in the sex antics of the cheaper "talkies." We spend other millions of dollars upon our churches, and still find men and women chasing mere pleasure and excitement, eaten up by the money-lust, and seeking always "the main chance." Something less than half the people of this country are members of Catholic and Protestant churches. Suppose we took these people and mixed them up indiscriminately with an equal number of persons who have nothing to do with religion? How many of the Christians could be distinguished from the pagans by any conspicuous elements of conduct and character? But let us look at the other side! Let us imagine that all our schools and churches were closed for a period of time! Suppose we tried to rear a generation without any help of any kind from organized education and religion! Then what? As we study the situation, two facts seem to us to be apparent. In the first place, man is still largely an animal. On the clock-face of universal history, the moving hand of civilization has ticked only a few moments of time. Against the terrific down-pull of the aeons of brute life behind us, we pit the up-pull of our deliberately organized influences of intellectual and spiritual redemption. At the moment, the struggle between the two is nip-and-tuck. Humanity is like a group of sailors in a leaky ship pumping desperately to keep the craft afloat. In the second place, our civilization, such as it is, has itself established artificial influences which tend to grind the great mass of men into the dust instead of lifting them up to the heights. Our political and especially our economic institutions are all against what we are trying to do in church and school. Until these institutions are changed the situation must remain serious.

The late Lon Chaney, of "movie" fame, was a great actor, and almost alone in his distinction in this field. For great acting—indeed, acting of any kind—is almost a lost art today. It is pitiful, to one who knows something about the tradition and practice of this art, to watch the so-called actors and actresses who walk the boards and stride the screens in this degenerate age. These men and women have zeal, devotion, energy; they are equipped with grace and skill of a kind; they pose and strut, laugh and cry. But they do not *act!* For acting, in its essence, is the art of impersonation. The actor doffs his own personality and becomes someone else; many someone elses. He so loses himself—his appearance, his voice, his distinguishing characteristics—in his chosen part that he is no longer recognizable as himself. Henry Irving, the greatest actor of his day, played the saintly vicar of Wakefield one night and the haunted murderer of "The Bells" the next, now the villainous Louis XI and now the heroic Becket, on this occasion the youthful Hamlet and on that occasion the aged soldier in "Waterloo." What an array of characters, and all as different as though different men were playing them! Lon Chaney did this same great work. Literally "the man of a thousand faces," he so merged himself with his many and widely varied parts as to be an apparently different person in each. In this he had few rivals and no equals on either stage or screen. Other favorites do not act at all. John Barrymore, for example, is always the same in every role. His popular profile presents the same appearance and fulfills the same function in every play. It was interesting, in the dual characters in "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," to see how John Barrymore stuck out all over both parts, so that no deception was ever possible. And this is what the public likes. For we no longer go to the theatre to see our favorite act; rather do we go to see him be his own fascinating self. The more the voice, the face, the figure remain unchanged, unhidden, regardless of the role, the more we are delighted. Yet, when a real actor like Lon Chaney appears, we are suddenly amazed at the power of great art!

Religion in the College

Many people are wondering about the status of religion in the colleges besides the Fundamentalists. There are those who feel that a more radical and challenging form of idealism alone can capture the student of today to the religious cause. Some say that the students of the senior classes are for the most part lost to organized religion. On the contrary, others claim that no subject is of so much lively interest to the college man and that a new religious idealism is emerging in the colleges. They say: the college student has lost his faith but kept his religion; the college student is through with the church but is more sincere and more idealistic than his elders.

Among the many voices speaking on this problem,

why not let a representative college leader have his say? He knows his school in the middle west. He is a letter man in athletics, a Phi Beta Kappa, member of all the honor societies, and senior class president. This then is his analysis of religion in the colleges:

"It is perhaps inevitable that some people should be concerned about the religion of the college student, assuming him to have one. There are shocking and disconcerting stories to be heard, of the godless attitude in the scientific lecture room, of teachers professing irreligion, and of young men and women departing from the Puritan-Victorian conventions. The situation is superficially complex, and yields small satisfaction to the casual observer.

"Actually, the analysis is simple. The origin of the greater part of the student body is the average, intelligent home; its training has been in the conventional religion of the nation; and it approaches college with a passable grounding in orthodox belief, a fair curiosity, and general disinterestedness. The high schools largely keep clear of the subject, except for traditional references to God, and some study of Longfellow and Tennyson, with the natural result that no very serious questions are opened. The churches, of course, prefer hymns to thoughtful analysis of miracles.

"Accordingly, when such students enter an institution of higher learning in which no state laws prohibit frankness, no trustees frown on honesty, and no collegiate policies prevent freedom of inquiry on all subjects to all men, things begin to happen. The first year has been assumed to be, and very likely is, the period of readjustment. The universities no longer dissemble, but when it is necessary, state what is believed, succintly refute all opposing dogma. It is common sport for some men to startle the first year students by propounding cases and problems that put the inconsistencies and untruths of religion in new and amazing lights. The absurdities of orthodox Christianity have short life before such attack. It is impossible for the student to escape getting something of the perspective of modern knowledge, of the sweep of geologic time, of the evolution of species, of the races and histories of man, of the cultures and even of the religions of the world. Acquiring this, they lose most of their sectarian, provincial, narrowness, and there can be very few at the end of a year in college who would have passed as good Christians two hundred years ago. In the present time of non-committal Christianity, very few take this change in attitude seriously enough to pass beyond the pale of churchly respectability.

"The students of the great university may be divided into five major groups. First, there are a very few who remain unimpressed, believing what they were taught as children in the Sunday schools, and making no attempt to reconcile this sort of religion with their technical knowledge. Second, there is a somewhat larger division of what may be termed 'Godly' men and women, who are devout without ostentation and without inanity, and who carry on the religious and social service work of the institution because their religion tends to be human and practical. Third, there is a vast legion whose members are remotely orthodox, believing simply in the existence of the Christian God, not at all interested either in promoting or refuting Him, and in this apathy toward religion and religious problems, proceeding to live decently, honestly, and intelligently. Fourth, there is a somewhat lesser, but still large regiment of those who have sensed or seen the Christian God in relation to the host of other gods, have tasted the natural history of religions, and without causing any trouble, find no necessity for engaging a formalism to guide them in living. Fifth, there is a quite small group whose constituents take a sophomoric delight in asserting their escape from dogma and religion of every name.

"This enumerated classification is nothing extraordinary in itself. The significant fact is that religion in its traditional form has been emasculated. The old Englishman who desired to be remembered only as author of the statement that 'The Itch of Disputation will prove the Scab of the Church,' predicted more than he knew. Long argument has removed the last vitality from orthodoxy. In the colleges where the live questions naturally seethe and ferment, religious problems are submerged. A few professors may take pleasure from ribald criticism, but the students are mainly apathetic.

"Nor does this argue a lack of enthusiasm in the universities. It simply means that there is more thrill in a football game, in a symphony, in a dance, in a drama, than there is in a church service; that there is more to be learned from a lecture than from a sermon. Nor does it mean that the inquiring vital spirit that once was in religion is lost; it has simply gone out of it, into the study of science, which is in many respects as unknown and unknowable as God in his heaven ever was. The destiny of man and the world is now seen in the embrace of science and philosophy, instead of in God. Nor does it suppose that ethical and moral thought has suffered by revision. Recreations are as they always have been, perhaps indulged in with greater moderation and intelligence, but ethics and morality have merely been transferred to a new base, from that of religion to that of an inarticulate, pagan humanism."

If this analysis is accurate, it will require a new strategy in religion to win our educated youth to loyalty. Both Fundamentalism and Modernism are equally futile.

A. Eustace Haydon.

Hindu-Moslem Unity in India

The favorite argument of the British propagandist against self-government in India is the dissension between Hindus and Moslems in that country. The same argument would have applied, of course, against self-government in America a century and a half ago, for antagonism between the states was serious and actually eventuated in the most terrible and bloody civil war that modern times has known! Furthermore, the British advocate altogether ignores the part Great Britain has played in fostering this religious feud in India, and thus keeping Hindus and Moslems apart in her own imperial interest.

As a matter of fact, however, are these two groups so hostile to one another as is commonly represented? Will they fly at one another's throats if British rule is withdrawn? Lord Meston, in his recent talks at the Williamstown Institute of Politics, has said, yes. It is his contention that the whole Nationalist movement in India is "in reality Hinduism," and that Mohammedanism, which includes some seventy millions of the people, is all against it.

But, if this is so, how happens it that one of the most distinguished of Indian Moslems recently served as chairman of the All-India Congress Committee which is in charge of the Nationalist revolt and has been declared an outlaw body? How explain the following resolutions, which were unanimously passed by the great Moslem Nationalist Congress at Lucknow on July 20th last:

(1) This Conference of the Nationalist Mussalmans of India expresses its sense of gratitude for the retrograde and reactionary character of the recommendations of the Simon Commission, as it has helped to cement the political unity of the people of India in general and Mussalmans in particular, and has given a fresh proof of the fact that the solution of our internal differences can best be achieved by our mutual adjustment and not by intervention of an interested third party.

(2) This Conference reiterates the opinion that in the extreme circumstances, when a people who have been denied the just and legitimate rights, and have exhausted all resources of protest by means of representation, the only way to focus the attention of the Government and the people to their age-long grievances is by means of mass action such as general strike, movement of noncooperation, or a campaign of Civil Disobedience; and the responsibility for the far-reaching effects of such mass action, when it is peaceful and nonviolent on the one side and harsh, violent, callous and even brutal on the other side, can hardly be disclaimed by the government and laid at the door of the injured and down-trodden people.

This Conference considers, however, that after the demonstration of the unparalleled spirit of determined resistance shown by the people in face of the methods of frightfulness practiced by the agents of government; after the proofs of strength born of ready and willing sacrifices made by the nation; and after the certainty that India has attained the stature which precludes her being bullied into submission; we should not be unwilling to consider any terms of honorable settlement, if they are based on Complete Dominion Status.

This Conference further considers that *no settlement be acceptable to the country unless the Congress participates in it.*

How explain the following statement of His Highness, the Mahraja Sahib of Bikanir, leader of the Indian delegation to the Assembly of the League of Nations this month and indisputably the leading politician among the Indian princes:

. . . I can thus claim to speak with some authority based on first hand knowledge and personal observations, when I testify to the extremely grave situation and the unmistakable depth and force of the widespread national awakening. The movement has taken a firm hold on people of practically all classes and communities of Indians . . . even those who do not see eye-to-eye with Mr. Ghandi and others politically. . . .

I turn to India newspapers on my desk, and I have no difficulty in finding numerous items like the following from the *Free Press Journal*:

Muslim Support to Congress
A Demonstration
Allahabad Report

Allahabad, July 2.

In order to exhibit their sympathy with the national activities a demonstration by a section of the Muslim citizens of Allahabad was organized here on Tuesday night.

Another procession which increased considerably in volume as it marched on its way to Moti Park, was organized in the evening from the city, which, it is reported, over a thousand Muslims joined with the object of demonstrating their sympathy with the Congress activities, many of them being clad in Khaddar.

The procession ended in Moti Park where a well attended public meeting was held under the presidency of Mr. Mahmuddullah Jung, bar-at-Law. Among those who addressed the meeting were Messrs. T. A. K. Sherwani, Haidar Mehdi, Sunder Lal, Maulana Shadi, Sheikh Bahauddin and Hafiz Mahmud. The speakers claimed that there was no truth in the statement that a majority of the Muslims were not in sympathy with the national movement.

Lord Meston challenged his Indian opponents at Williamstown to state how they would reconcile Hindus and Moslems if India were free. The answer is easy! Hindus and Moslems, and all other elements of the population, are becoming reconciled today in their common opposition to a Government which denies them freedom.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Parables of War and Peace

XVIII.

An Official Report of the Next War

"Losses in our late victorious conflict were unhappily large. In spite of the best endeavors of our air forces, enemy raids upon our cities, especially the great political and industrial centers, were numerous and effective. The enemy gas bombs also proved to be unusually deadly. Not until the great air-base of the enemy was destroyed by the unprecedented gallantry of Col. Brute-Face and his regiment of heroic flyers, were danger and loss at an end.

"Since the collapse of the enemy, the Statistical Bureau of the government has been busy, and has at last been able to present the following report of fatal casualties incident to the fighting in the late war. It should be noted that, in the case of non-combatants,

these statistics are estimates based upon census figures. It is obvious that when such a city as Boston, or Buffalo, or Washington, is suddenly and completely destroyed by an enemy air-raid, there is no way of ascertaining the exact loss of life involved. In such instances the total population of the community, minus the men withdrawn for active service in the army and navy, must be taken as the number killed. The statistics in the case of combatants are, of course, exact.

Combatants

Army	1,003
Navy	187
Air-Force	15,010

Non-Combatants

Men (45 years or older)	4,637,492
Women	13,942,863
Children	16,838,901

"The loss of children, and to a less extent of women, was greatly reduced in the last months of the war by their withdrawal to the great concentration camps on the open prairies of the west. The smaller camps for children in the mountain-fastnesses of the Alleghanies and the Rockies also proved useful. It is true that sanitation was bad in these camps, and 537,634 children died of diphtheria, small-pox and typhoid-fever. Food supplies were also at times defective, and babies suffered greatly. The destruction of the Hoover Camp in California by the great snowstorm on February 22, 1941, was also a calamity, resulting in the death by freezing of 10,848 children under four years of age, and of 462 of the adults in charge of these children. But the concentration camps proved on the whole to be a successful and merciful device for saving the lives of the young under conditions of modern warfare.

"It is obvious that, in preparation for the next war, the nation should enlarge its air-force and greatly extend its equipment in anti-aircraft batteries on the frontiers and anti-aircraft cruisers on the sea. Only by such means can the people be adequately protected from attack."

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

World Peace Day—August 27th

On the occasion of the signing of the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact on August 27th, 1928, UNITY declared in a special editorial that the annual anniversary of this great date in history should be made a universal holiday in the interest of international peace and brotherhood and called upon the governments of the world thus to set aside this day as a World Holiday.

On the second anniversary of the signing of the Peace Pact, August 27th last, great impetus was given to this movement for a World Holiday at a luncheon in Chicago held under the auspices of the Chicago World Peace Day Committee. In attendance were between three and four hundred men and women prominent in local and national affairs, Hon. William R. Castle, acting Secretary of State, who spoke for the Government, and the consular representatives of thirty foreign nations.

Mr. S. O. Levinson, of Chicago, world famous as the "Father of Outlawry," made a speech notable not only for his own remarks, but especially for the various messages, many of them direct cables from the ministers of European states, which he read. Mr. Levinson's address, with the full texts of the messages referred to, follows:

"This is the first celebration of the Briand-Kellogg Treaty, known as the Pact of Paris, or Peace Pact, which has occurred since President Hoover proclaimed the Treaty in effect on July 24th, 1929.

"If time permits, I want to say two or three things regarding the scope and effect of the Peace Pact. But the immediate purpose behind this meeting, the objective of the celebration is to inaugurate a universal holiday on August 27th for all the nations of the world. It is difficult to conceive of any other possible day that would make a world holiday. Christmas itself falls far short. Armistice Day is a day of consecration and victory for the Allies of the Great War. This day is sacred to us, but how about our former belligerents? Speaking plainly, is it not most unfair to expect the Central Powers to commemorate this day? It is no more possible for Germany, Austria and Hungary whole-heartedly to celebrate Armistice Day than it would be for our southern states to celebrate Appomattox Day, for the English to celebrate Yorktown Day, or the French Waterloo Day. It is putting too much strain on human nature. We must have a real World Holiday of Peace. When the masses of mankind realize in their own hearts that war has been banished from the sphere of international relations; when they are able to rejoice together on a common holiday in the glory and joy of peace, then we will have a 'sanction' for peace, a real 'security,' a universal alliance based on a general community of interest.

"Last year, at The Hague, I had the pleasure of discussing the recognition of August 27th as World Peace Day with a number of European officials, including M. Briand, Dr. Stresemann and Mr. Henderson. As a result, Dr. Stresemann and Foreign-Minister Henderson sent the following cables which were published here on the morning of August 27, 1929:

Berlin.

Today is the first anniversary of the solemn meeting in which the Pact for the Outlawry of War was signed in Paris. The act of signing was followed last July 24th by the act of putting it into force by proclamation of President Hoover. In the meantime almost all countries besides the signatories have manifested their resolution to adhere to the Pact, which thus includes already today almost the whole civilized world.

The act which thus denounces as a crime war as an instrument of national policy and pledges the nations to use pacific means only in their disputes has placed the development of international law on a new basis. But the living reality of the Pact, its influence on the practical development of international relations will not only depend on its juridical contents but in the first place on what the governments and the nations themselves will put into it. If governments and nations keep alive within themselves the spirit which inspired the solemn meeting held in Paris on that memorable day of the 27th of August, history will be able to consider that day as a turning point in the evolution of nations.

The rhythm of our present life is more hurried today than it used to be in former times. The spirit of the solemn gatherings and the clear insights which spring from them are lost again in the hurry of our everyday life. But the 27th of August ought to be a day of commemoration uniting all nations, as it

has never been possible in any other historical event, in the conscience of their common interest in the maintenance of peace.
—*Stresemann.*

London.

On the first anniversary of the signature of the Pact of Paris for the Renunciation of War I send you my warmest greetings and congratulations. I believe that this day will be recognized by future generations as marking the beginning of a new epoch in the history of civilized mankind. The Pact of Paris is one of the foundation stones upon which we have now to build the structure of enduring peace and I am confident that it will be, in years to come, the source of undying honor to the Government and people of the United States among the nations of mankind. —*Arthur Henderson.*

The messages which our Committee has received this year, to be read on this occasion, are as follows:

Paris.

I associate myself, with all my heart, to the commemoration of an international act, the benefit of which will be felt forever by mankind and I congratulate the Chicago World Peace Day Committee for their generous initiative purporting to recall solemnly to the nations, every year, the importance of the general pact of renunciation of war signed at Paris on the 27th of August, 1928.

To understand its whole significance means to measure all its possible developments in the future.

I deeply wish that such a work so dear to all inspired with the same horror of this crime: war, will be continued.

BRIAND, *French Foreign Minister.*

London.

I should associate myself with those who, in Chicago today, are commemorating the signature of the international pact for the renunciation of war. It is most important that the significance of that world wide pledge, if it is to mark as it must an epoch in world history, should be emphasized.

ARTHUR HENDERSON, *British Foreign Minister.*

Berlin.

Germany joins you today in celebrating the anniversary of that important achievement, the World Pact for the Renunciation of War. That pact will only have full effect if the underlying idea penetrates into the minds of all peoples and becomes the rule and guide of their thoughts and actions, thus enabling its consequences to be carried out in the relations of the states to each other. To promote such end you are assembled today in Chicago and I beg to associate myself with your celebration.

CURTIUS, *German Foreign Minister.*

Stockholm.

On the second anniversary of the signature of the Kellogg Pact I have the pleasure to convey to you the expression of my deep satisfaction at this new instrument for the maintenance of peace. It is now the duty of all nations to unite in common endeavour to make the spirit of the pact a living reality. The fact that the American people and the nations of Europe through this pact have joined efforts for the outlawry of war is of far-reaching importance.

RAMEL, *Swedish Foreign Minister.*

Copenhagen.

I consider the Peace Pact as one of the most important instruments for advancement of peace and friendly relations between nations and I send you best wishes for celebration of day of signature two years ago.

MUNCH, *Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs.*

The most sublime effort in which the human family has ever been engaged is that of destroying the institution of war. The most powerful factor in that movement is public opinion. You are wise therefore in celebrating the achievements of peace. When we come to believe in peace to the extent of employing the instruments of peace in the settlement of international controversies the victory for peace will be complete.

WILLIAM E. BORAH,
Chairman, Foreign Relations Committee,
U. S. Senate.

The Kellogg Briand Peace Treaty has already begun to bear fruit. The London Navy Treaty is evidence of the sincerity of this country, of Great Britain and of Japan in which other nations will join in discarding war as an instrument of national policy. The world may well celebrate as a holiday the day when the Kellogg Briand Treaty was signed.

DAVID A. REED, *U. S. Senator, Pennsylvania.*

Deeply regret my inability to be present at celebration of second anniversary of the epoch-making Peace Pact for the ratification of which I had the honor to vote. The recognition of this day as a world holiday to be commemorated by all the peoples of the world will go far in removing prejudices and fears that so long have thwarted the good will of nations and frequently plunged them into war. This day should be a common holiday for all the peoples of the world.

OTIS GLENN, *U. S. Senator, Illinois.*

I join cordially in commending inauguration of World Peace Day. Our task is to make the Peace Pact effective. Already it has taken patriotism from the war makers and given it to the peacemakers. Having as a nation renounced war as an instrument of national policy we the peacemakers are now the patriots supporting the national program. This gain already represents real progress and strength for your further enterprise.

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK,
Minister, Riverside Church, New York.

"I am perhaps an incorrigible optimist, for I believe that this Pact of Pacts will never be broken. I admit its possibility but I deny its probability. The reasons for my super-optimism are twofold:

"First: I have faith in the people of every nation. I do not believe there is a nation in the world that would knowingly and wantonly violate this sacred covenant of peace.

"Second: My faith is also strengthened by the fact that there is a universal community of interest in peace. Therefore, the nations of the world will loyally respect and not violate this epoch-making Treaty, for peace is the world's greatest boon. There is and can be no universal community of interest in war. War divides the nations. War demands all, takes all, destroys all. Nobody in his right mind wants war.

"Another thing: It is claimed in certain quarters and, strangely enough, by imperialists on the one hand and extreme pacifists on the other, that the Briand-Kellogg Pact does not outlaw war at all. For, the argument runs, all wars are fought as defensive wars and as the Pact under the diplomatic notes exchanged does not exclude the right of self-defense, and as defensive wars embrace all the wars that can possibly come, for all practical purposes the Pact does not change the status of war at all. The glaring error in this reasoning is in failing to distinguish between the expression 'defensive war' and the 'right of self-defense.' Defensive war is a mere characterization by each country of its own war; each country claims it is fighting on the defensive and that the other nation is the aggressor. Each nation makes the identical charge against its belligerent. This gets nowhere. It is international vertigo. Now war, no matter what label you put on it, has heretofore been recognized by international law as the only *compulsory* method of settling disputes between the nations. War therefore occupied the place and exercised the function of a *compulsory* court, its function being to establish right, title and justice in the disputes arising between the nations. It is this court, this institution of war, this compulsory method of settling disputes by force, that has been outlawed by the Peace Pact. The Pact destroys the institutional status of war; it strips from war its previous legitimacy. War is read out of the law of nations. It is made illegal and criminal. Now, the right of self-defense is an entirely different thing. Self-defense is not a method of settling disputes, is not an institution or court, but is a right inherent in man as

in nations and is indispensable to liberty and life. As a matter of fact, the word 'war' should rapidly become obsolete as to its older use and significance. The word 'duel,' in the many countries that have abolished dueling, has become merely a figure of speech. In this country, for example, when we speak of a duel, we put quotation marks on the word. Now that war has been outlawed, as dueling has been outlawed in most countries, war should also become a mere figure of speech. In this sense war must be sharply distinguished from force. Force cannot be abolished, but war can be and has been abolished by the Peace Pact. Force may be used in self-defense, but war cannot properly speaking be used in self-defense. The bona fide exercise of self-defense is not war. This is made clear enough when we consider that in self-defense a man or a nation, suddenly and wantonly attacked, may use any weapon, any method of defense, so long as it is actually used in self-defense. No rules, no laws, apply. Legitimate self-defense justifies the act and the weapon. Wars, supposedly, are fought according to rules because, hitherto, war has been an institution, a court, regulated by laws and carried on according to certain rules called laws of war. No, the use of the expression 'defensive war' is confusing and meaningless. The right of self-defense, properly invoked or exercised cannot be taken away by man or God. So I say all wars as known in the past are outlawed by the Peace Pact.

"And, one word more. It is customary to associate the word 'faith' with religion and spiritual processes. As a matter of fact, the business affairs of the world, within a nation as well as internationally, hinge upon confidence, that is, upon faith. Without faith the wheels of civilization cannot turn. And that is the same quality of faith that must mark each nation in its dealings with the other nations. Public opinion, released and animated by the Peace Pact, becomes the greatest power in the world, and will be able to function effectively from now on, which it could not do when war was within the law. And public opinion, plus faith, will save civilization. The king, War, is dead; long live the king, Peace."

The messages presented by Mr. Levinson in the above address, published in these columns in full for the first time, indicate impressive support of the movement for "World Peace Day—August 27th." The ultimate success of this movement may be regarded as certain.

J. H. H.

"More Babies" for Italy!

(From Our Special Correspondent)

The other day one of Mussolini's closest friends, a man of some fifty years was married to a young Milanese girl. Mussolini sent him a congratulatory telegram on the day of his wedding which read, "Accept my Fascist and demographic wishes for your nuptials." A quite incomprehensible message except to one living at the present time under the Fascist regime.

Demography, according to its dictionary meaning, pertains to social statistics, but in Italy it means only one thing—increasing the birthrate. The Duce's telegram referred very definitely to the hope that the newly married couple would soon bless Italy with their progeny. It appeared on the front pages of several of Rome's newspapers as a news item.

To an Anglo Saxon mind such a message from a prime minister to a bride and groom is quite incredible. But in Italy it is not even thought vulgar. Some readers doubtless had their little joke over the Duce's humor, but it is improbable that Mussolini even cracked a smile when he composed his telegram. Demography is a dead serious question with him.

Italy's Premier has consecrated himself and the Fascist program to putting Italy "on the map." His dreams are all centered upon making Italy the "greatest nation of tomorrow." All his oratory, if inconsistent in other spots, is always consistent in this. He is convinced that the way to power and world respect is through numbers.

Italy's birthrate has been reduced by ten percent in the last few years. In the first five months of 1929 there was a dimunition in the birthrate of over 22 percent as compared to the same period in 1928. This alarming situation is due, according to Dr. Cesare Micheli, professor of obstetrics at the University of Rome, to the practice of birth control and criminal abortions. These he asserts should be punishable by high taxes on childless parents.

Mario Carli, editor of the Rome *Impero,* goes Dr. Micheli one better. In a front-page editorial he stated that every woman should give a child to her country at least every two years. Voluntary sterility and dieting to keep thin are "the two greatest crimes a woman in the Fascist regime can commit," he says—and should be punishable with three years in prison.

Italy's present population is about 42,000,000.

But what, said the Duce, in a recent article on race suicide, are 40,000,000 Italians confronted by 90,000,000 Germans and 200,000,000 Slavs as well as by 40,000,000 French with their 90,000,000 colonials and 46,000,000 English with their 460,000,000 colonials?

So the Duce and the Fascist Party have embarked upon a program to increase Italy's population to 60,000,000. Although many economists and modern historians such as Tenny Frank do not believe that Italy's soil is capable of supporting more than its present population Mussolini believes that it is. The government has already entered upon a program of land reclamation and plans to spend $400,000,000 within the next thirty years for this project alone.

Mussolini has three reasons for justifying his demographic policy. "Morally," larger families induce greater energy and activity in the struggle for existence. "Spiritually," a larger population means an increased national consciousness. "Politically," it is the most solid instrument of defense and an imposing arm in "contests."

Critics may point to the present unemployment, not always revealed by official statistics, or may recall that the poverty of southern Italy is largely due to unproductive soil which cannot be reclaimed. Pacifists may accuse the Duce of a secret ambition to annex more territory. But meanwhile the propaganda to "increase and multiply" goes merrily on.

Italy has always been a country of large families. Religion, climate and natural inclination have resulted

in what most of the rest of Europe and America consider "guinea pig production." On June 30, 1928, there were in Italy 1,532,000 families with seven or more children. Seventeen percent of these families had between seven and nine children. Seven families had twenty-five or more children, seven others had twenty-four children each, while thirteen families had twenty-three children apiece. There were twenty-nine families with twenty-two children; eighty-seven with twenty-one and 182 with twenty children. Sixty percent of these large families were reported to be engaged in agricultural pursuits where the children were early put to work and are regarded as economic assets.

Under Fascism there are even more inducements luring the humble worker to produce at least one child over a half-dozen. First, there is publicity. And who doesn't like to have his picture in the paper! Think what a thrill for Arnaldo Pucinello, bricklayer, when he and his ten blackshirted offspring (mothers of large families seldom appear in pictures), are photographed and reproduced in one of Rome's most prominent newspapers, with the title, "A beautiful Fascist family." Then there is Raffaele Schiavoni, a poorly-paid journalist of thirty-five years. The picture of his twelfth baby appeared in a newspaper recently with the inscription, "Our best wishes for the second dozen." Sometimes there is a laudatory story instead of a picture. Tito Mexxacapo, for instance, clerk for the Sleeping Car Company, had his own letter to the newspaper reprinted with the headline, "The Joy of a Fascist." It read as follows:

"I wish to announce that Saturday my wife gave birth to three children. Triplets used to be a rare occurrence, but since the exhortations of our glorious Duce they are now commencing to be more frequent.

My case however, or rather that of my wife, is altogether wonderful. When you think that after eight sons born one at a time, now they have begun to come three at a time. My only grief is that the newborn are all girls and cannot bear arms for their great country. Having six sons living, the triplets have increased the size of our family by fifty per cent. Continuing in this fashion, my wife, who is only thirty-three will eventually be able to form an entire company. Long live Italy, long live the Duce, long live the Family!

Trieste, formerly Austria, celebrated the birthday of Rome this spring in a peculiarly Fascist manner. The wedding of fifty young couples was fixed by Fascist authorities to take place on that day "as a fitting homage to the Duce's propaganda for the perpetuation and fortification of the Roman race."

Stories such as these appear daily in the Fascist press throughout Italy. The Duce himself who before the demographic problem began to worry him had only three children, is now trying to be an example to his people in this respect also. Three years ago Romano was born. Recently "the second child of the second series" as Mussolini refers to it himself has made its appearance.

Another method for encouraging the "more babies" campaign is the awarding of bonuses. Mussolini has led this movement from the first with "personal" gifts. He began by offering an award of from 200 to 400 lire ($10.50 to $21) for families having 18 children. Then he reduced the necessary number of children to twelve, then to ten and more recently to seven. The names of the families writing in for the bonuses are, of course, published in the newspapers. It wasn't long before Mussolini found the economic burden of these gifts becoming too heavy and sent an order to the prefects of communities to ask employers as a patriotic duty for donations to the bonus fund. Their responses are also chronicled in the newspapers. The National Insurance Association recently offered to waive further premiums on popular family insurance at the birth of the seventh child. Particularly are the parents of future soldiers rewarded. They are eligible to receive a bonus of 500 lire ($25) for every newborn son. Of course there are skeptics who assert that nearly 500 lire worth of time is wasted trying to extricate the prize from the red tape. But in Italy time isn't always worth money.

Gifts have also been sent by the Duce to Italian families living outside of Italy and reduced railroad rates are offered expectant mothers to return to the home land so that their offspring may be born under the Italian flag. Nearly every large community offers special privileges to the *famiglie numerose*. Milan began by giving free passes on the tram system to any family with ten children. Florence exempts a family with ten children from paying taxes. Bologna gives free medical service to families with seven or more children, exempts them from taxes and donates a prize of 5,000 lire ($250) to every family having four children within the first six years of marriage. Rome exempts all of its many civil employes who have seven or more children from taxes. Everywhere heads of large families are given preference in jobs.

A further aid in the population campaign is the restriction of emigration. The United States has aided this policy by its quota laws but Mussolini has now put the screws on at the Italian end. Permanent emigration is now limited to the immediate relatives of Italians already settled abroad. Temporary emigration on the other hand is encouraged since it benefits Italy economically and does not constitute a drain on population. Italian citizens are allowed to emigrate, therefore, only on condition that they return to Italy within a specified period. Naturally they are not allowed to assume the nationality of the country to which they go.

Emigration being discouraged, the return of Italians living abroad is heartily encouraged. If they come to stay, so much the better, but if they come only for a visit they are not considered emigrants but given a royal welcome. Such a visit is considered in the light of a "bath of Italianization" from which they are supposed to emerge more loyal than ever to their mother country and more useful to her in the country of their adoption. Only this summer hundreds of children of Italians living outside of Italy were entertained royally at the expense of the Fascist government purely as a propaganda measure.

But one of the most interesting phases of the demographic problem is the status of the illegitimate child. The maid of one of our friends recently produced a son out of wedlock. She went suddenly and without previous notice to the municipal hospital in Rome. There she stayed eight days with the best Italian care and with good food. Her baby was supplied gratis with a layette included three of each kind of garment. When the girl was dismissed she began collecting various prizes. There is a semi-private institution called the Brefotrofrio which gave her immediately 150 lire and which will pay her 75 lire a month for the first year of the baby's life and twenty-five lire a month for the next two years. There is the *Opera Naxionale* for Infant Welfare Work which promised her additional help on condition that she

nurse her baby. This organization proffers the same assistance to illegitimate children as to legitimate during the first three years of infancy. To minimize illegitimacy, however, Mussolini has recently reduced the age of consent for girls from fifteen to fourteen.

Birth control is prohibited by law in Italy. Doctors who are discovered furnishing information regarding contraceptives are punishable by imprisonment. Physicians performing abortions are likewise severely penalized. The sale of contraceptives is forbidden. The Catholic church has never countenanced birth control measures and Italy is now officially a Catholic state. Today an Italian sins both morally and politically by any attempt to control the size of his family.

Opposition to the Duce's demographic propaganda in the Fascist press is of course not tolerated. But this spring there crept into the newspapers a feeble protest against the noisy propaganda for mass production.

I too (said one of the subscribers, presenting his views on the subject), deprecate that there is a certain number of elegant ladies in the middle and upper classes who avoid maternity for aesthetic or egotistic reasons. But suppose instead of fretting ourselves so much with quantity we should occupy ourselves a little with the—quality! Ten tubercular, syphilitic or just weak soldiers are certainly not preferable to five healthy strong ones with their nervous systems in order and their livers in place.

No mention is made of women on whom the heaviest burden of a *famiglie numerose* falls. Their place, according to the Duce, is in the home and "what more can women accomplish for Italy," said the Fascist Premier in a public speech, "than to bring more Fascist leaders into the world?"

This is the age of the child, according to educators and psychologists in most of Europe, England and America. Better babies, happier children more intelligent men and women! But Mussolini combats this theory of quality versus quantity. In an article on "Number and Strength" published in *Gerachia*, a monthly magazine of which the Duce himself is editor, he says:

The thesis that quality can be substituted for quantity is false, a thesis that I have fought energetically ever since it was advanced as a justification for the progressive diminution of the Italian birth rate. False and imbecile is the thesis that a smaller population means a greater well being. The standard of living of the 42,000,000 Italians today is far superior to the standard of living of 27,000,000 in 1871 or of 18,000,000 in 1816. Italian facists, he concludes dramatically, Hegel, the philosopher of the State has said, "He who is not a father is not a man!" In Italy, cultivated and disciplined, in other words "fascist," there is room and plenty of it, for ten more million of men. Sixty million Italians will make their weight and strength felt in the history of the world!

Rome, Italy. DOROTHY WALTON.

Gandhiji's Role in the Awakening of India

For centuries India has been hibernating; and during that time foreigners have been exploiting the land. From time to time a wide awake prophet would arise and disturb the slumbering masses for a time only to let the country turn over and plunge into a deeper sleep than ever before. On these occasions if the authorities incarcerated the prophet whose activities were embarrassing to them, then nothing happened to the people who just slept on. But what is happening today?

About a decade ago Gandhiji—our Moses—who was to deliver his people from bondage, woke up and said, "Watchman, what of the night?" Then he launched the Non-Cooperation movement, and soon came the answer reverberating through the darkness "The Morning Cometh." So he patiently abode his time for a decade in his *Ashram* on the banks of the Sabarmati, preparing for the time when the land should bestir itself at the dawn of the rising Sun of Liberty.

In 1930 his alarm has rung throughout the length and breadth of India and the masses have jumped out of their beds and have rolled away and put aside their bedding. They are not going to sleep anymore. They are girding up their loins to put their house in order, and any unwelcome thief found therein will soon be ejected. The burglar's "Jimmy"—intoxicating liquors and Lancashire goods—have been discovered and are being thrown out of the house. Gandhiji has assumed the role of the captain, and is drilling the masses into an iron discipline that many a militaristic state may well envy. His discipline is not a discipline of fear but of love. The word of command is not human but the Voice of God. Our loyalty is not to a mortal king but to the Everlasting Throne of Grace. Our motive power is not self-aggrandisement but the welfare of others. Our soldiers are not mercenaries but idealists who count it a gain to lose their lives. Our interests are circumscribed only by the good of humanity. The British Government has not the vision to see the might of the forces in operation today. Following old precedence, they have tried placing Gandhiji behind iron bars and stone walls, hoping the people will go to sleep again. But that is not to be! The movement at present is immeasurably stronger than when Gandhiji was out and has exceeded all expectations of even an optimist like him.

How little the Government understands the psychology of the people is seen by the way it keeps constantly reiterating that "civil-disobedience will generate a habit of lawlessness in the people." This is a totally mistaken conception. The Government's fear might have been justified if civil-disobedience had been launched with selfish motives and each man strove to exploit the situation. But that is not the situation. The disobedience is to a lawless government with implicit *obedience* and loyalty unto death to a central moral idea. Such cannot generate and has not generated any objectionable anti-social habits in the people.

Anyone who has watched the discipline of a crowd of thousands of *Satyagrahis* set upon by a few hundred police with sticks and staves and seen the calmness with which the strongest among them has meekly invited the officers of "Law and Order" to visit his beating on his own person, cannot but admire the perfect mastery over the animal instinct of retaliation. What greater discipline can there be than self-control?

Again, most nations depend on the help of force in the form of law to cleanse the country of anti-social habits such as drunkenness. But in India, in spite of law and in the teeth of law, we are ridding the land of intoxicants. In the Ahmedabad District about six weeks ago there were thirty-three liquor shops. Thanks to the labors of Miss Kurshed Naoroji and her band of picketers, nineteen of these shops are now closed,

notwithstanding the loses incurred by losing their expensive licenses. Liquor consumption has gone down to 30 percent of what it was a few weeks ago. In other parts of the country the Government is unable to find bidders at auction sales of liquor booth licenses. This naturally enrages the Government into passing vindicative sentences on picketers. Only the other day Mrs. Lukmani, a daughter of a High Court Judge and an elderly lady of 65 years, was given five months *rigorous* imprisonment for picketing liquor shops. Several volunteers come forward to take the place of one picketer put aside. Is this breeding of lawlessness?—a loyalty to a higher moral order based on the welfare of others even at the cost of personal suffering?

As regards the other burglar's "jimmy"—Lancashire goods—have we ever heard of three hundred millions of people stopping foreign imports without a tariff barrier? What is it that is doing it in India? Many merchants who dealt in foreign goods have voluntarily placed their entire stock of such goods under the seal of the Congress authorities. Others who were not prepared to go so far have asked the police not to molest the picketers who picket their own shops. Where has the proverbial greed of the capitalist and the trader gone? Is this again breeding of lawlessness? Or is it a higher discipline that Britain knows nothing about, nor has the capacity to comprehend?

Every *lathi* charge has left the masses better disciplined. Obedience to a higher mandate than the British ordinances has caught the imagination of the land, and all the might of the British cannot obscure it. Gandhiji has indicated the way, and the British Government by its repressive policy is disciplining the people to follow. Today India is generating—even without the physical presence of Gandhiji—a force that will be the guarantee for all time of world peace. India has learned that

> Self-reverence, self-knowledge and self-control—
> These three alone lead life to sovereign power.

Even should we assume, for argument's sake, that India cannot obtain independence, have we not already sown the seed of "sovereign power"? Germination is only a matter of time. India can afford to wait. The nation is wide awake, and is going about organizing its work for the day that is dawning. Time will declare the honor of switching on this vast electric machinery as due to Gandhiji. Now no power on earth can stop India obtaining her birthright.

Ahmedabad, India. J. C. KUMARAPPA.

The Study Table

Labor on Religion

For the first time we have a real authoritative and trustworthy utterance from the world's labor leaders as to what labor thinks of religion. These views have been set forth in a book,* "Labor Speaks for Itself," by Jerome Davis of Yale University. Mr. Davis has acted as a kind of ringmaster for a symposium, gathering together the viewpoints of thirty-one different individuals.

One distinction this book bears is the fact that it is the expression of leaders of organized labor, not only of the United States, but of all the industrial countries of the world. Accordingly, the spokesmen of labor in America, Canada, Great Britain, Russia, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Mexico, China, Japan, Belgium and Australia have told in this volume just what labor thinks of the church. Moreover, in it too we have the viewpoints of the various American leaders, which include the right wing as expressed in the opinions of William Green, the president of the American Federation of Labor, and the left wing as set forth by James P. Thompson, the national organizer of the I. W. W.

Perhaps in no other book have we ever had so complete a presentation of the economic and political philosophy which labor holds as in this one. Here for example we read from an American spokesman:

> You ask what we of labor think of you? We are horrified—horrified at the unnecessary poverty and misery and slavery in the world, horrified at you and your savage gods—and we are determined to drive all of you from your thrones.

And again by the same author:

> Capitalism, the systematic murder and exploitation of one class by another, is only a passing stage in the economic development of mankind. It is the glorious mission of the working class to end exploitation of man by his fellowman.

From England we learn that

> We cannot accept the plea that God created rich and poor. We know all babies born are just flesh and blood and are the same whether born in London or Timbuctoo. We want the millennium here and now. We refuse to accept man-made misery, destitution and crime as the will of God. We refuse to believe that in the midst of plenty any one should starve. We know that all we need now is to discover how best to share what the profligacy of science and nature give us.

From a Russian leader we get this:

> Anti-religious propaganda is essential for a revolutionary working class and peasantry because the religious view of the world is false. This religious conception has been used by every oppressing ruling class, sometimes willingly and sometimes unwillingly, for the consolidation of its dominion. This was done with the help of the priesthood and other religious preachers. The priesthood was a part of the ruling economic and political group of landlords, money-lenders, slaveholders, merchants, factory owners, speculators, bankers and so forth. We demand a full separation of church and state in order to struggle with religious obscurity and mist.

From Australia we get this attitude:

> What did the church do when we sought a living wage, shorter hours of work, safer working conditions, abolition of Sunday work, abolition of child labor? The answer is an almost entirely negative one. How can labor be expected to view with favor an institution founded on such broad principles of justice and brotherhood as the church, but which pays no heed to the industrial and political questions of our time, concerning as they do the overwork and underpay of the toiler, the shortening of life by preventable accidents and diseases?

From China we have this point of view:

> Why should the workers oppose Christianity? Workers! If you cease to work for one day, will God feed you? When you are oppressed by the capitalist, has God ever fought for you? Doesn't the help of Jesus amount to this: bear your hungry stomach, don't resist the capitalist, wait until you go to heaven? Isn't it clear that this helps the capitalist to oppress you? For your class interest, fight Christianity in the same spirit as you fight against the capitalist.

From Germany we get this point of view:

> Capitalism forces the worker into the class struggle. In this class struggle he comes across the clergy and finds it the champion of his class adversary. The worker transfers his hate from the clergyman to religion itself, in whose name this clergyman is defending the social order of the middle class.

Now, strange as it may seem, one of the most sane, intelligent and truly reasoned contributions comes from a Japanese, a leader of Japanese labor. The

*Labor Speaks for Itself," edited by Jerome Davis. Published by the Macmillan Company.

writer, Toyohika Kagawa, gives evidence of a broad, liberal scholarship, free from prejudice, and imbued with what has come to be known as the scientific attitude. Says he:

> I am considering a new principle of economics. We are no longer satisfied with the Manchester orthodox "political economy," or with Marxian economics, either. Religion has a great function in economics, and ethical force is a factor which controls business. But up to the present time no principle has been suggested because people lack the power to analyze economics from the psychological point of view. In the evoluton of life, and to bring out the purposiveness of life, man wants to climb up higher. Some seek science, some art, some philosophy, some contemplation; some seek after abstract things, some after expression of life. I call this stage the stage of culture. And it is the business of religion to so shape the economic and social life of man that this stage may be reached by all.

What makes the book worthy of our attention is the fact that it is the expression of leaders who according to their own statement represent 28,608,289 workmen throughout the civilized world. That is to say, they represent those laborers who are organized into trade unions of one kind or another. Of course every one knows that these leaders are expressing their individual viewpoints, and not those of the twenty-eight and a half million they represent. And yet we must recognize the stubborn fact that it is those leaders who shape policies, create opinion, and in an indirect way influence the minds of those whom they represent.

Here, then, is a book which every employer ought to read if for no other purpose than for self-examination and penitence. Surely the ministers ought to read it for prayer and fasting. And to the large captains of industry it is commended for devout humiliation.

The time has come when we can no longer afford to ignore the rumblings that roll on beneath the surface of our social life. And the time to study this situation is not when the dam has broken and the flood waters begin to rush onward in the mad rage, but now when the first drops begin to fall. For we are not dealing with merely a superficial adjustment of wages and hours; but instead, with a fundamental economic philosophy of civilization. Ignore it as we may, yet the stolid fact remains that ideas make and unmake civilizations. Once let them get under way, and like the imps in Pandora's box, when they get out, they will mock every attempt at being returned.

Bible classes, reading clubs and employers' associations will do well to study this book carefully, not so much for individual opinions, but for the general attitude it expresses. Indeed, there is much that the book leaves unsaid, and one wishes these spokesmen had at least attempted some sort of solution. But when one is grieved, as most of them seem to be, there is no disposition to seek a pacific solution.

On the whole, Mr. Davis has done a valuable piece of work in serving as a megaphone through which these labor leaders have spoken. Let us sincerely hope that it is not all for naught!

W. W. W. Argow.

Correspondence

The All-India Issue

I.

Editor of Unity:

The last number of Unity devoted entirely to the situation in India is a remarkable achievement. You have done a really wonderful work. I cannot say that I agree with all that is in the number from Alpha to Omega, or with all its implications in detail. But for substance of doctrine and for the central demand I do profoundly agree with it, as I do with Sunderland's notable book. I have been saying for years that it is quite impossible that a great nation of 300,000,000 people like India, with its great history and traditions and thwartings and now its high hopes and ambitions could remain in permanent subjection to anybody. The clear dictate of statesmanship is to recognize this central fact and shape all policies accordingly and hasten the education and exercise of responsibility which will promote its realization in the sanest way, the way which alone can conserve the legitimate right of all concerned.

Boston, Massachusetts Edwin D. Mead

II.

Editor of Unity:

Last night I sat in my room and read the India number for more than an hour.

It is a most impressive arraignment of imperialism—a wonderful picture of the situation. How any one can have two opinions after reading this is to me incomprehensible.

And Britain!—my motherland a few decades ago—it looks as if the same disease that afflicted Pharaoh is afflicting her rulers—hardness of heart! What can be done to save her (and America), for she is in greater danger than India, and seems to have no man like Gandhi to be a savior.

How any British man, or American man, if he remembers from the Magna Charta to the Emancipation Proclamation, can fail to sympathize with India's struggle for freedom, is beyond my imagination.

New York City, N. Y. Sydney Strong

III

Editor of Unity:

I want to congratulate you on the India number of Unity. It is excellent—even better than I thought you could possibly make it. It has real documentary value, as well as other values.

J. T. Sunderland

Poughkeepsie, New York

IV.

Editor of Unity:

I am prompted to add my word of congratulation to the many you must have received for the All-India number. To open Unity is always like meeting a congenial friend; but this number might be likened to a communion with a soul—the soul of India.

It is consoling to think that their pathetic appeal to America for endorsement and encouragement has met with this response. Especially so when I contemplate James W. Gerard's list of 59 men who "rule" America "by virtue of their ability," who are "too busy to hold political office" but "determine who shall hold such office."

The cry of India would be lost on this list.

Caro Lloyd Strobell

Little Compton, R. I.

Political Prisoners in India

Editor of Unity:

I, the undersigned political prisoner, one of the batch that was sent from Bombay to Trichinopoly jail on the 21st, send you the following information for your kind publication.

In Bombay when we were taken from Byculla, we were huddled up in special reserved compartments which had neither berths nor any arrangement for luggage or for sleeping. We had no room even to move freely. So crowded were the compartments. For two nights we had no sleep. We were not given water many times when we wanted it. At Raichur we requested our police guards to give us water but they were all deaf to our requests. We were not given food for three successive days. Only fried grams and fried rice were supplied to us. We were locked from outside. We had no pots to have water. Afterwards we were given pots, two for a batch of 11. But these pots could not be put outside or taken inside the windows that were closely barred. We could not wash our faces or cleanse our teeth as we could not take our

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Working Committee's Resolutions*

The Working Committee of the All-India National Congress has issued the following resolutions:

Resolution 1

(a) This committee confirms the arrangement reached by the acting president with the Ahmedabad mill owners whereby the said mill owners have agreed to take effective steps to prevent the production of cloth which can be mistaken for Khadi and to provide for shortage of Khadi by making available to the consumer Swadeshi cloth made of Indian yarn manufactured by themselves or other Indian owned and Indian managed mills up to the end of October, 1930, at prices not exceeding those that prevailed on or about the 12th of March, 1930, in case the market prices rise higher during the interval.

Resolution 2

The working committee notes with satisfaction the progress made in the boycott of foreign cloth in a very large number of cities, towns and villages and appreciates the patriotic spirit of the dealers who have in pursuance of the resolutions of the committee not only stopped the sale of such cloth but have also agreed to cancel orders already placed and refrain from placing fresh orders, thereby causing a very considerable fall in the imports of all foreign textile goods. The committee calls upon the dealers in foreign cloth in places where they have not yet stopped the sale of such cloth to stop such sales forthwith, and on their failure to do so directs the congress organizations concerned to enforce strict and vigorous picketing of the shops of such dealers. The committee expects the sales of foreign cloth will be stopped everywhere in India before the 15th of July, 1930, and calls upon the Provincial Congress committees to make a full report on that day. Congress organizations are hereby reminded that under resolution . . . passed by this committee on the . . . they are precluded from entering into or accepting any arrangement with dealers of foreign cloth permitting sale of such cloth for any period.

Resolution 3

The committee calls upon all congress organizations and the country at large to take more rigorous steps to bring about a complete boycott of British goods generally than have so far been taken by giving preference to goods of non-British manufacture wherever similar Swadeshi goods are not available.

Resolution 4

This committee calls upon the people to organize and enforce a strict social boycott of all government officials and others known to have participated directly or indirectly in the atrocities committed upon the people to stifle the national movement.

Resolution 5

The working committee calls attention to the resolutions of the Indian National Congress passed at Gaya in 1922 and at Lahore in 1929 whereby the congress repudiated the financial burdens and obligations directly or indirectly imposed on India by the foreign administration except such burdens and obligations as are adjudged to be just by an independent tribunal and advises the Indian public not to buy or accept any fresh bonds of the government of India whether as new investment or in conversion of their existing holdings of the same or similar bonds.

Resolution 6

Whereas the present legal tender value in exchange of the silver rupee in India has been fixed arbitrarily by the British government in the teeth of strong public opposition, while the intrinsic value of the rupee is not even a third of the legal tender value so fixed, and whereas there is imminent likelihood of further depreciation of the value of the rupee, the working committee strongly advises the people of India not to accept rupees or currency notes in payment of any claims against the government but to insist on payment in gold wherever possible. The committee further advises the people to take the earliest opportunity to convert all their currency holdings of rupees or notes into gold and particularly to insist on all payments for their exports to be made in gold only.

Resolution 7

In the opinion of this committee the time has arrived when students of Indian colleges should take their full share in the movement for national freedom and directs all provincial committees to call upon such students within their respective jurisdictions to place their services at the disposal of the congress in such manner and to such extent including complete suspension of their studies as the exigencies of the national movement may require. The committee trusts that all students will readily respond to such call.

Resolution 8

Whereas in pursuance of the policy of repression the government has declared a certain number of Provincial and District Congress committees and other subordinate and allied organizations as unlawful associations, and whereas it is likely that other congress committees and organizations may be similarly declared unlawful associations in the near future, this committee directs the committees and organizations affected by those declarations, and those that may hereafter be similarly affected, to continue to function as before, and carry out the congress program notwithstanding such declarations.

Resolution 9

This committee notes the amazing declaration of the U. P. governor-in-council forfeiting copies of Resolution No. 6 of this committee about the duty of military and police forces passed at its meeting held on the 7th of June. The committee maintains that the use of the military and the police by the government as their tools for perpetrating shocking atrocities on the people would have fully justified it in passing a much stronger resolution but for the present it was considered sufficient to pass the resolution as it stands containing as it does merely an accurate statement of the existing law on the subject, the committee calls upon all congress organizations to give the widest publicity to the said resolution in spite of the said declaration.

Resolution 10

Whereas the government has since the last meeting of this committee continued its headlong career of relentless repression to stifle the Satyagraha movement and has to that end permitted acts of increasing cruelty and brutality to be committed by its servants and agents and whereas in addition to the unlawful acts mentioned in Resolution No. 2 passed by this committee on the 7th of June the government officials have committed the following among other cruelties namely. . . .

This committee congratulates the country on the splendid stand made by the people against the atrocities

*The Working Committee of the India National Congress is the most important executive body in India today. These Resolutions, here printed for the first time in this country, give a more vivid impression of what is going on in India today than anything we have seen.—Editor.

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faces out of the windows. Even latrines had no water at times. In short we were not treated as respectable human beings ought to be treated. Especially the Bombay Presidency police were rude and never looked after our wants —even of food and water. At Arkonan we had to halt for about six hours but we were kept in our cars. It was so hot in the cars! We were never taken outside except at one place. Let us see now what treatment awaits us there in Trichinopoly jail. In our batch there are 56 political prisoners from Dhulia and 44 from Worli. In all we are 100. We offered our prayers in our compartments. At almost all the stations people were not allowed to come near us. People were kept far off.

Hoping you will publish the above.—Yours, etc.

—One Satyagrahi Political Prisoner

A Correction

In Mr. Holmes's "Parable of War and Peace," number XVII, published in the last issue of UNITY (September 1st), page 7, the third sentence of the third paragraph, which read as printed,

> "And the Son of Man spake unto the One that knew not hate, nor love, but only truth, and said" . . .

should be changed to read,

> "And the One that knew not hate, nor love, but only truth, spake unto the Son of Man, and said" . . .

committed by the officials and reiterates its warning to the government that the people of India will continue their fight for freedom to the bitter end in spite of all conceivable tortures inflicted on them.

Resolution 11

The committee is amazed at the incredible statement made in the communique of the Bombay government that prominent people of Sholapur have requested the government to continue the operation of martial law until the Ekadashi fair held at Pandharpur 45 miles from Sholapur. The committee is in possession of reliable information that the people of Sholapur have always believed that there was no justification for the introduction of martial law and have all along been strongly opposed to its continuance. The committee puts on record its considered opinion that even on the Bombay government's own showing there was no justification for the continuance of martial law so long, and that there is now not even a shadow of pretence to keep it in force any longer. The committee is convinced that the sole object of continuing it is to crush the spirit of a long-suffering people.

Resolution 12

The committee notes with grateful appreciation that the women of India are continuing to take an increasing part in the national movement and bravely suffering assaults, ill-treatment and imprisonment. In particular the committee offers its respectful congratulations to Shrmati Urmila Devi, president of the Nari Satyagraha Sangha of Calcutta, and her colleagues and other ladies in all parts of the country who have been arrested and imprisoned for the patriotic services they rendered in picketing and other congress work.

Resolution 13

The working committee puts on record its high appreciation of the patriotic action taken by Kunwar Suresh Singh of Kalakankar and Kunwar Sabeb of Manekapur in breaking the order of the Magistrate of Lucknow for which they have been convicted and sentenced. The committee appeals to the other scions of the families of Taluqdars of Oudh and other landed magnates in India to follow their noble example and take open part in the national movement regardless of consequences.

Resolution 14

The committee congratulates Shree Purushottamdas Tandon, Shree Shivaprasad Gupta, Sardar Shardul Singh Caveeshvar and Shree M. Krishna Rao, members of this committee, on their arrest and conviction for their patriotic activities in carrying on the campaign of civil disobedience.

Resolution 15

This committee expresses its deep grief at the death of Sheth Revashankar Jagjivan Jhaveri who was Hony. Treasurer of the Congress for a number of years, and places on record its gratitude for the many services he rendered to the congress and the nation.

This committee conveys its respectful condolences to the members of his bereaved family.

The Things That Count!

Here and there tucked away in the dispatches from India are the nuggets of news which are the most significant after the non-resistance itself. It is reported by Negley Farson that the British department stores are empty; their customers were formerly 90 per cent Indian. British-owned newspapers are losing circulation very heavily and British banks business; the Bombay Indian factory-owners have voted to have no further dealings with British banks. Nearly all the British bankers and mill operators are now petitioning the Viceroy for a statement promising dominion self-government. The price of cotton has fallen one-third; heavy failures are expected on the next settlement day and one-half of the Bombay mills will soon be on half time. The British-owned Bombay *News* declares: "If trade decline continues owing to the political situation India is heading for a big economic crash." No fewer than 170,000 bales of cloth, half of them sold, are lying in storehouses, none being called for. Of imported cloth hardly any is released to individual customers. The imports of piece goods dropped from 215,000,000 in April, 1929, to 165,000,000 in April, 1930. "Boycott week' began on June 29.

The Nation (New York)

WANTED—Copies of UNITY of August 8th. The All-India number was soon exhausted. Many orders remain unfilled. Will subscribers who do not save their papers kindly return this issue to 700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago.

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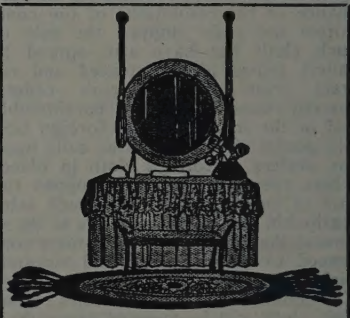
India

We trust that the colored people of the United States are watching with bated breath the struggle in India. Our view of it is of course distorted by the deception and propaganda of English news agencies. But here is an unparalleled fight for righteousness; the determination of millions of people, who in the face of their own ignorance, poverty and inner divisions, are with increasing unity standing against the effort of a great modern country to use them, their land and their resources chiefly for its own private profit. And Indians are seeking to do this and succeeding to an unparalleled degree by the method of peaceful agitation. Nothing like this has occurred in the history of the world. If it fails, it will mark an epoch. If it succeeds, it will revolutionize civilization. Against it is being used all of the paraphernalia of modern imperialism: lies, imprisonment, murder, delay, propaganda and dry official reports. The Simon Report on India is a long and labored document. It shows thought and attention. Twenty-five years ago it would have been a landmark and a beacon. Ten years ago it would have staved off revolution. Today, it is the last refuge of reaction.

—*The Crisis.*



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